FOUNDED 1921

JANUARY 1973

EDITOR R.PALME DUTT

LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF LEFT UNITY · 20p

R. Palme Dutt
Prospects of 1973:
1. Britain's Testing Time
2. Europe's Future

F. H. Amphlett Micklewright
Conspiracy and Trespass

Hans Giersiepen
Federal German Outlook

Gordon Schaffer
Springtime in Chile

Vietnam/Jack Askins : USSR/Henry Metelmann
Philippines/W. J. Pomeroy : Munich/I. M. Maisky

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LABOUR MONTHLY

Editor: R. Palme Dutt Associate Editor: R. Page Arnot

Managing Editor: Nicola Seyd

VOL. 55 No. 1 JANUARY . 1973

CONTENTS

		Page
Notes of the Month: Prospects of 1973. *Year of Opportunity* **1. Britain's Testing Time.** *Pie in the Sky—Government's Offensive —Class Battles in Front—Mobilisation to Meet the Challenge of 1973.* **2. Europe's Future.** *Europe's Choice of Paths—What is 'Europe'?—'Europe' and 'East Europe'—New International Situation—US Shift of Policy—Nato Anger at US-Soviet Co-operation —Voters' Verdict—US Presidential Election—British People's Responsibility*	**R.P.D.**	1
Tribute to Sir Compton Mackenzie		14
Conspiracy and Trespass . .	**F. H. Amphlett Micklewright**	15
Neo-colonial Fascism in the Philippines	**William J. Pomeroy**	19
Angola's People. 'In the Eye of the Storm'		24
Trade Unions and Vietnam	**Jack Askins**	26
Federal German Outlook	**Hans Giersiepen**	29
Springtime in Chile	**Gordon Schaffer**	33
A Personal Document	**Henry Metelmann**	39
Fifty Years Ago		42
The Munich Drama (4)	**I. M. Maisky**	43
Book Reviews: 'Participation and Democratic Theory', Carole Pateman: *Alan Brown*; 'The Life of Ernest Shatalov', Vladimir Amlinsky, and 'Steal a March on Death', Vladislav Titov: *O.C.*		47
Freeze Costs Rally	**Nicola Seyd**	48
Publications Received		Inside back cover

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Notes of the Month

PROSPECTS OF 1973

> **'The states taking part in the meeting regard it as their duty to continue doing their utmost to safeguard Europe from the danger of new military conflicts, and to provide wide scope for the development of co-operation among all European countries, irrespective of their social systems, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.'**
>
> Budapest Declaration of Warsaw Pact Foreign and Defence Ministers, March 17, 1969.

December 11, 1972

All the signs indicate that 1973 will be a year of key decisions and crucial tests both internationally and in Britain. Internationally the Helsinki Conference has assembled the representatives of 32 European states, that is, all the states of Europe except Albania, and including the Vatican, along with the US and Canada, to prepare the European Security Conference, whose date has still to be fixed. The successful achievement, finally overcoming all the prolonged attempts of reactionary circles aimed at hindering or delaying the project, to have assembled such a representative all-European gathering of the 32 European states, East and West together, compared with the limited character of the preceding meeting of the minority grouping of the Common Market nine, proclaimed as a 'European Summit', or the Nato bloc, is a measure of the new forces advancing in Europe. The Conference for Mutual and Balanced Forces Reduction is due to meet by the end of January. The vitally important second phase of the US-Soviet Salt negotiations to reach further agreements for the limitation of missiles and nuclear arms has already opened.

A Year of Opportunity

These three parallel Conferences and negotiations arise from and carry forward the new positive advance in East-West relations in Europe, which found expression in the treaties of the German Federal Republic with the Soviet Union and Poland, the Four Power Agreement on Berlin, the Pompidou-Brezhnev meeting in Paris, and the agreement of the two German states to normalise relations

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on a basis of equality and prepare entry of both into the United Nations. All these interrelated developments constitute the most significant historical landmark since the end of the war. They express the new constructive and realist phase which has begun to make a break with the prolonged cold war record of two-and-a-half decades. The outcome of these Conferences and negotiations is likely to shape the character of the world prospect for a whole period ahead. If the opportunities which are now presented are effectively followed up, the way can be opened to favourable possibilities for the future development of Europe and the world. But the battle is not yet over. The current provocative colossal arms increases of Nato, with a £441 million increase for Britain to £3,293 million, at the very moment of the European Security Conference, are sufficient evidence how real the dangers are. The issues of choice for the future are sharp, equally in the international situation and in Britain.

1. BRITAIN'S TESTING TIME

On January 1, 1973, Britain is scheduled to end its close on a thousand years of sovereignty and independence, and subject its parliament and people to the overlordship of the super-monopolist bloc of the so-called 'European Economic Community', its organs and Brussels Commission, empowered to impose binding regulations and decisions in the widest variety of spheres (over 3,000 binding regulations and decisions in 1971) overriding parliament. The costs and burdens of this surrender to be imposed on the majority of the British people for the benefit of a handful of super-monopolists are already planned in a carefully arranged timetable to come into operation by successive turns of the thumbscrew, with the coming into force of the Common Agricultural Policy to raise food prices in January, and the offensive of the Value Added Tax on All Fools' Day. The wage freeze to stop increases in wages was imposed already on December 6, in the midst of rising prices, after the prolonged preliminary charade of the tripartite negotiations had finally failed to induce the unions to enter into suicidal co-operation with the Tory Government and place their heads under the axe. The reality of the wage freeze was accompanied by a show of a parallel partial limitation in a net full of holes to curb some increases of some prices except of food and imported materials, alongside the already statutorily imposed increase of rents, and by an even more fan-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tastically imaginary limitation of dividends. The date of the wage freeze was chosen with tactical care, just after the temporary settlement of the immediate claims of the major and more strongly organised unions, and just in time to strike the main blow at the more weakly organised sections, the farm workers, teachers, nurses. hospital ancillary services and sections of municipal employees, But while the wage freeze was in fact imposed from December 6, the official calculation of the ninety-day freeze was dated from January 1, 1973, to be followed by the possibility of an additional sixty days, to be followed by a still undetermined 'second phase'. The multiple challenge of the present offensive to the living standards and rights of the working class and the majority of the British people is manifest.

Pie in the Sky

In the midst of this barrage of blows against the real living standards of the people the Heath Government triumphantly boasts of its fight against inflation, and at regular intervals proclaims the prospect of future unparalleled prosperity in front, if the Government policies for the fight against inflation are maintained and supported by the people. Both the boasts and the predictions are false. The desperate attempt to engineer an artificial boom by a combination of inflation and devaluation ('floating the £'), in place of taking over and planning the economy, has only had the smallest effect on the appalling totals of unemployment and low output. The increased money supply still poured out at a 20 per cent annual rate of increase, the great part into the pockets of the rich through tax concessions; and the swelling bank advances to wealthy clients at ever higher rates of interest (£349 million increased bank advances during the four weeks to November 15, 1972); these increases have mainly gone, not for productive purposes to develop the economy, but either for the record expansion of private export of capital, often to finance enterprises abroad undercutting British industry, or for the rocketing speculation in land, houses, and real property at astronomically soaring prices. Britain has reached almost the top of the league in Europe for its record height of inflation, while the sinking of the floating £ to record low levels has reflected the lack of confidence of foreign investors in Britain's economy. So at regular intervals, to dissipate the gloom over the disastrous outcome of the Government's economic policies, recourse is had to the panacea of singing lyrical incantations about the glorious prospects of unparalleled prosperity in front if the Government's policies are followed.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> We stand now on the threshold of a period of growth and prosperity unparalleled since the war.
>
> (Mr Heath's speech to the Conservative Party Conference, October 16, 1971)

When the gloom had not disappeared twelve months later, recourse was had to the same refrain:

> At the Lord Mayor's banquet at the Guildhall the Prime Minister held out the prospect of unsurpassed prosperity if stability could be restored to the economy through the voluntary prices and incomes policy.
>
> (*Daily Telegraph*, November 17, 1972)

So the offensive is conducted to the music of enthusiastic celebrations of the paradise in front.

Government's Offensive

A chill blast against this official ministerial optimism was delivered by the Chairman of the Confederation of British Industry in his speech to Conservative MPs on November 5. He dismissed the estimate of a 5 per cent growth rate claimed by the Government as 'unrealistic'. Industrial investment had in fact declined in 1972 to below the low level of 1971. The advantages claimed to have been achieved by the devaluation device of the floating £ would be nullified after entry into the Common Market, which would require a fixed exchange rate. Subsequent official statistics have confirmed this picture:

> A slight jolt to ministerial claims that the economy is expanding fully in line with the Chancellor's 5 per cent budget target was given yesterday, when the first preliminary estimate of the gross domestic product was released by the Central Statistical Office. The index of gross domestic product was only 0.6 per cent above the second quarter figure.
>
> (*Times*, November 17, 1972)

By the beginning of December official statistics revealed the decline of manufacturing investment in 1972, compared with 1971:

> Returns issued last night by the Department of Trade and Industry show that manufacturing investment expenditure slumped by 11 per cent in the first three quarters of 1972 compared with the corresponding, and depressed, period of 1971.
>
> At the beginning of this year Ministers and their advisers were forecasting a modest 3 per cent decline for 1972, but by early October this had been revised to a 7 per cent downturn. Fingers had been firmly crossed that the fall might be held to 7 per cent. . . . In the event, the figures are extremely disappointing for the third quarter.
>
> (*Times*, December 6, 1972)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is no room for illusions about the real extent of Britain's crisis, and the consequent determination of Britain's rulers to seek to solve it by placing its burdens upon the people. The sunshine talk is ministerial propaganda. The reality is the offensive against the standards and rights of the working people, expressed at the present stage through the Industrial Relations Act, the wage freeze and the variety of measures which have the effect of imposing new taxes, increasing prices and rents, and in fact, under a cover of hypocritical philanthropic pretences, intensify exploitation. This is the challenge which the working class movement has to shape its strategy to meet.

Class Battles in Front

All the multiple offensives of the Tory Government, the anti-union legislation, the grim judiciary and the engines of prosecution backed by the megaphone chorus of the millionaire press and apparatus of publicity, have not broken the militancy, solidarity and fighting spirit of the mass of the workers in the key centres of industry, as shown in many continuing actions also after the freeze. The anti-union offensive has been reshaped to seek to learn the lesson of previous defeats, when the attempt to use the blunt weapon of imprisonment was frustrated by the mass action of the workers. The current strategy has sought to cow the unions into surrender by colossal financial penalties and threats to sequestrate their funds. The rapid escalation of the £6,000 demanded from the engineers to a further demand for £55,000 has revealed how sharply this challenge has developed to a new test of class strength and action. The recent conferences of the organised labour movement, equally of the TUC and the Labour Party Conference, have demonstrated the rising strength of militant demands, constituting, if drawn together (as was done by Alan Brown in last month's issue), a consistent alternative programme to challenge the policies of bipartisanship, end the doldrums of the political labour movement and rally mass support equally of the organised workers and of the widest sections of the people anxious to end the domination of Toryism or its echoes in the labour movement. Unity of the left, communist and non-communist working together for common aims, has made possible this advance, most conspicuously in the TUC, where fuller democratic freedom of functioning has been achieved, but also to a significant extent in the Labour Party Conference, despite the remaining bans and proscriptions hindering the unions from free choice of representatives. But in the Parliamentary Labour Party, despite the invaluable activity of many left representatives, a powerful

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minority section plays into the hands of Toryism by votes and abstentions (the final voting on the EEC Bill on October 17 won its majority of 28 by the aid of Labour abstentions). In the parliamentary section of the organised labour movement the conception is officially proclaimed of independence from the policy decisions of the democratic organisations of the labour movement.

Mobilisation to Meet the Challenge of 1973

Hence the most urgent steps of mobilisation are necessary for the present sharpening class confrontation and class battles in front. First, the fullest mobilisation and mass strength to meet the immediate attack through the Industrial Relations Act, imposition of fines to paralyse the unions, and the measures of price raising and intensified burdens associated with the wage freeze and the legislation for entry into the Common Market. Second, the strengthening of the political labour movement by the ending of anti-democratic bans and proscriptions and restoration of the democratic rights of the trade unions to choose representatives in whom they have confidence. Third, the establishment of the binding character of policy decisions of the democratic conferences of the labour movement, and effective steps, including any necessary changes in parliamentary representation, to ensure recognition of this principle by the parliamentary section of the labour movement. Fourth, organisation of a mass campaign drawing in the widest sections of the people on a common anti-monopoly programme to bring down the Tory Government, compel a general election and fight to win the general election on the basis of such a mass programme in place of the old policies of bipartisanship. The active response to this prospect of sharpening class battles in front in Britain needs to be bound up with the parallel fight, in which the British people have a most directly responsible role to play, for the success of the aims of the European Security Conference to lead to the ending of the cold war and establishment of mutual security and co-operation in Europe.

2. EUROPE'S FUTURE

'In a geo-political sense,' declared the *New York Times* military correspondent Hanson Baldwin in his book *Strategy for Tomorrow*, published only a few years ago, 'Europe is a peninsula of Asia.' He may well say 'in a geo-political sense', for 'geo-politics' is the favourite

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pseudo-science of a certain school of imperialist military theorists who seek to isolate the geographical factor in the whole complexity of material conditions as the single decisive factor governing all historical development, whereas it is manifest that the pace of geographical changes proceeds in relatively prolonged epochs, while under the same geographical conditions vast transformations of social relations can take place. A no less characteristic distortion of the real world is the counterposing of continents, to suggest that Europe has become a back number, a mere adjunct of Asia, and that the decisive field of history has moved to other continents, Asia, Africa, America and Australasia. This version is a characteristic distortion of the most glorious transformation of this half century of the world socialist revolution, following the impetus of the October Revolution extending to all peoples and especially to the majority of mankind then oppressed by imperialism, so that the previous domination of imperialism centred in Europe over the peoples of other continents has now given place to the disintegration of imperialism and extending advance of all peoples. This advance of mankind is distorted into a caricature version that Europe is no longer a dynamic centre of world historical development. On the contrary. The battle over the European Security Conference reveals that, just as Europe was the seed-bed of two world wars, so today the future of the peoples all over the world is bound up with the struggle now taking place over the future of Europe.

Europe's Choice of Paths

Two alternative policies open up for Europe. One is the policy of the division of Europe into opposing antagonistic, economic, political and military camps. This is the objective pursued by still powerful reactionary circles, especially in the military High Command of Nato, with their corresponding advocates in influential positions in the Brussels Commission of the EEC, among the devotees of neo-Nazism and followers of Strauss in the German Federal Republic, as well as among their powerful reactionary allies in leading circles in Britain. The role of Home as British Foreign Secretary and of the Tory Government led by Premier Heath is in reality closely associated with these circles, but is complicated by the fact that, after the failure of persistent attempts to prevent, hinder or delay the convening of the European Security Conference, international factors have now compelled a measure of diplomatic change of front to participate in and express a reserved kind of highly conditional support for the European Security Conference.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The success of the achievement of the holding of the Helsinki Conference to prepare the European Security Conference, proposed and pressed for by the socialist countries against resistance by the Western imperialist powers for nearly two decades, and now assembling all but one of the states of Europe, East and West, is in fact the most important international development since the war, and represents the first step towards the alternative path for Europe's future, the path of East-West co-operation, mutual security and peace.

What is 'Europe'?

The real policy of the Heath Tory Government and Tory reactionaries in Britain, with their entrenched associates in Nato, Brussels and the anti-Brandt forces in the German Federal Republic, for a division of Europe is concealed from public opinion in Britain by being presented as a policy for 'European unity', to build up 'Europe' as an integrated 'world power' alongside the United States, the Soviet Union and Japan. It is clear that when Mr Heath and the Common Marketeers speak of 'Europe', they are misusing the term 'Europe' to describe their policy for the division of Europe. Over successive centuries up to the present day 'Europe' has been universally understood, irrespective of social and political differences or rivalries and conflicts of states, as the continent extending from the Atlantic to the Urals. But this is not what Mr Heath means when he speaks of 'Europe'. The real outlook of Premier Heath and his Government received most revealing expression in his speech at the so-called 'European Summit' Conference in Paris on October 19, 1972, assembling the Heads of Government of the six members of the existing EEC, together with the three applicants (Britain, Ireland, Denmark) due to become members on January 1, 1973. Thus this 'European Summit' included nine of the over thirty states in Europe. Yet Mr Heath constantly referred to this minority grouping, consisting of the four West European imperialist powers and five associated states as 'Europe'. He expressed the desire to see it become, not merely an economic unit, but a 'major world power' alongside the US and the USSR, and with 'a common foreign policy'. He developed this conception in his Guildhall speech on November 13, with the declaration that the Government's purpose in entering the EEC 'went well beyond matters of economic or monetary policies' and was designed 'to strengthen the institutions of our own society' and establish a coherent relationship 'between the three main groups of the democratic world, the US, Japan and the European Community.'

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus Mr Heath made abundantly clear that he meant by 'Europe' an imperialist monopolist bloc of a minority of European states organised as a unit in the EEC and Nato (not even a West European bloc, for Nato includes Greece and Turkey).

'Europe' and 'East Europe'

But the contradiction in this deception of Tory propaganda to describe their policy for the division of Europe as a policy of 'European Unity', and to describe the limited imperialist bloc of a minority of European states as 'Europe', becomes manifest when in the course of the very same speech at the 'European Summit' on October 19, Mr Heath had occasion in the further development of his remarks to refer to the question of 'the relationship' between his 'Europe' (tactfully called 'the Community' in this context) and 'Eastern Europe'. How can 'Europe' have 'a relationship' with a part of itself? Here the Big Lie of Tory propaganda on 'Europe' was exploded by its own progenitor. For to recognise that the aim of united European co-operation requires the participation of all the over thirty states of Europe irrespective of social and political differences, for common objectives of mutual security and constructive economic, political and cultural exchanges, points strongly to the necessary path for the realisation of this aim, not through the closed minority block of EEC or Nato disguised as 'Europe', but through the European Security Conference, which today Mr Heath and the Tory Government, after the failure of all their attempts to obstruct it, have now found themselves under the necessity to accept.

New International Situation

This partial shift of attitude of the British Tory Government, after prolonged resistance, to agree to participation and a conditional kind of support at Helsinki to prepare the planned all-European East-West Security Conference, is a reflection of the new alignment in the relations of the main capitalist powers which has compelled this limited change of front. Previously the successive British Governments in the post-war era, both Tory and also Labour, have been able to act as the representatives of the 'Atlantic' conception, claiming to have a 'special relationships' with the US, and fulfilling a mainly satellite role as a bulwark of reaction in Europe in close alliance with the US and Pentagon, and with the Adenauer regime and upholders of the Hallstein Doctrine (to ban diplomatic relations with

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the new socialist countries of Eastern Europe) in West Germany All this has now changed. New currents of positive advance in Europe and in the international situation have reduced to relative isolation the role of Britain as the bastion of reaction. The dominant new currents in Europe have been represented by the successes of the *ostpolitik* of Chancellor Brandt; the attempts of President Pompidou to cover domestic reaction by a foreign policy of withdrawal from military participation in Nato and close economic and cultural relations with the Soviet Union; the treaties of the GFR with the Soviet Union and Poland, and the agreement of the two German states, initialled at Bonn on November 28, 1972, to enter the United Nations on a basis of equality. A key factor in this new situation in Europe has been the developing new trend in the orientation of US policy in Europe.

US Shift of Policy

The US under President Nixon, now with the security of his re-election for his second term, has moved to new orientations, not only with the sudden abrupt changes and experimental trials and reverses of measures in the domestic economy, but also in foreign policy. Faced with the bankruptcy of the old policies represented by Dulles's grand plan for the US to act as the world gendarme of reaction and the world leader of anti-Soviet and anti-communist hostility, President Nixon, while simultaneously continuing some of the old aggressive interventionist actions in particular regions (most notably demonstrated in the barbaric intensification of every form of bombardment and devastation to an unparalleled height in the culminating stage of the war against the people of Vietnam) has moved to new initiatives, begun with his journeys to Peking and Moscow in the first half of 1972, and subsequently carried forward to develop relations with the socialist world. Despite all the accompanying cross-currents in the background and in special fields, the US-Soviet Joint Declaration affirming the principles of peaceful coexistence, and the series of concrete agreements reached at the meeting in Moscow of President Nixon and Soviet leaders in May 1972, have proved through the whole subsequent development a most significant landmark in international relations since the war, opening the way for steps towards an East-West *détente* on the basis of peaceful coexistence. This advance has been accompanied with an extending development of US-Soviet economic relations and constructive co-operation in a number of special spheres, including the plans for joint manned space flights.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nato Anger at US-Soviet Co-operation

For Britain the new orientation of American policy has meant a blow to the previous tradition of a 'special relationship' with the US which all British Governments since the war have sought to claim. Throughout this period Britain has sought to give zealous service to the main lines of American policy (not without incidental differences), and has accepted the role of a key American nuclear base in Western Europe and consequent potential target for destruction in a nuclear war. When France cleared out the American military installations established on her soil under Nato, docile Britain received them in addition to the bases already established. Now the development of US-Soviet co-operation without consultation with Britain or the European members of Nato has raised alarm in British official quarters and the High Command of Nato. This was revealed at the Nato Assembly in November:

> The dominant theme of the North Atlantic Assembly, which ended its deliberations here today, has been the European fear of American unilateral moves which could wreck the alliance. . . . In the six days of discussions the greatest anxiety was voiced over recent developments in relations between Washington and Moscow. The political committee expressed acute concern that details of Mr Nixon's discussions during his visit to Moscow in the summer were passed on to allied countries only after a long interval.
>
> (*The Times*, November 25, 1972)

The fear was manifest, despite many American assurances to endeavour to allay such fears, that a US-Soviet agreement on arms limitation, or reduction of armed forces, or partial withdrawal of armed forces in central Europe, or organisation of a nuclear-free zone in central Europe, might in fact include the allies on both sides, and thus bring into question Lord Carrington's scheme for a so-called 'European Nuclear Force' under Anglo-French command in association with West Germany. At the very moment of the meeting of the European Security Conference, the Tory Government Minister, Anthony Boyle, Parliamentary Secretary at the Foreign Office, could declare to the Assembly of the West European Union in Paris: 'We must beware of euphoria about *détente*.' The practical continuance of cold war strategy, even in the midst of participation in the joint meeting to prepare the European Security Conference, was shown in the plans for huge increases in the arms expenditure of the European members of Nato announced in Brussels in the beginning of December, and involving for Britain, as already noted, £441 million additional expenditure for arms.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Voters' Verdict

But this continuing cold war fury and arms megalomania of the Nato High Command and British Tory Ministers, belying all the professions of acceptance of the aims of the European Security Conference, is entirely at variance with the dominant currents of feeling of the peoples of the world seeking for a relaxation of international tension and a turn to the left in domestic politics. This has been the significant lesson of recent elections in a whole series of countries. In Australia the Labour election victory in December has followed 23 years of opposition, and the new Labour Government has begun energetic changes to cut some of the overseas military commitments, end the draft and release those in prison for resisting it, and align Australian policy closer to the advancing popular forces in the region. The New Zealand Labour election victory has been won after twelve years in opposition. In India already last year a united front led by Indira Gandhi, with the main democratic forces of the Congress and the Communist Party of India co-operating in many regions, in all the variegated conditions in the different states in that country of 550 millions with an electorate of 280 millions, did in the general outcome register a powerful popular victory, and inflicted decisive defeat on the representatives of reaction and the old Congress machine bosses. In the Japanese elections the doubling of the Communist representation and parallel increase of Socialist representation by one-third have made the combined Socialist-Communist representation nearly one-third of the whole parliament. In Europe the Norwegian people in their referendum defeated the Common Market, as would the British people if they only had the chance; the Dutch elections showed gains on the left; and the Socialist-Communist alliance in France is gathering the broadest support of popular unity since the 1930s for the coming elections.

US Presidential Election

It is true that in the US presidential elections in November President Nixon's 'landslide' victory, carrying all states but one (but alongside advance of the Democratic majority in Congress and among state governors), might be offered as evidence of a contrary trend. But it is worth noting that Nixon made his trump card in his election campaign his visits to Peking and Moscow and his development of relations with the socialist world. The gravity of the issue of Vietnam was concealed from the majority of American voters by the sedulous promulgation of the most highly placed semi-official reports that peace would be signed in a few days. In reality the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'landslide' popular vote for Nixo
the electorate; the biggest single s as a *minority*—38 per cent—of
cent—consisted of those who did not n of the electorate—45 per
tricky measure. But all the signs of the p Elections are always a
dominant desire of the majority of the peopl period indicate the
end to the policies of the cold war and arms r countries for an
and progress in social conditions at home. nd for change

British People's Responsibility

In this situation of crucial tests and decisions arising in l
internationally and in Britain, the highest responsibility falls o h
working class in the forefront of the widest sections of the Brit
people. With the shift in the orientation of US foreign policy to promote closer relations with the socialist world, Britain under the Tory Government is now the main bastion of reaction in the world. Here is the heart of the policies of the cold war and hostility to *détente*, under a deceitful pretence of formal acceptance of the aims of the European Security Conference. Here is the most intense planned offensive against the working class, the highest inflation in any major capitalist country, and the most immediate assault of anti-union legislation and multiple attacks on the standards of the people, professedly for the aim of the fight against inflation, but in fact serving the interests of the monopolists and to tie the British people to the super-monopolist bloc organised in the EEC. But here is also the strongest organised united working class in any capitalist country. The present situation throws the highest responsibility on the working class, both to fight and defeat the present attacks of the Tory Government, and at the same time to fulfil an international responsibility to end the role of Britain as the bastion of reaction, that is, to unite all the forces of the working people for the political fight against the Tory Government, to force an election, and in that election to win the way forward, not for the old alternation of 'Ins' and 'Outs', but for a programme of a Britain of the working people able to take their place with the advancing forces of the modern world. This is the challenge that sounds at the opening of 1973 for a year of crucial tests and battles for the future of Britain and the world. **R.P.D.**

CORRECTION

In the November issue of *Labour Monthly*, p. 494, the reference to the Budapest Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states should have given the date 1966 not 1969; the reference to the initiative of the Warsaw Pact states in 1969 'which opened the present moves towards a European Security Conference' was to the Note of the Warsaw Pact states in 1969 to all the European states proposing a European Security Conference.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRIBUTE TO SIR COMPTON MACKENZIE

Labour Monthly deeply mourns the loss of Sir Compton Mackenzie, one of the most brilliant and prolific yet tireless fighter in many progressive causes and first world war to the present day, with an unequalled record of achievement in a wide range of fields. Over many years he was a most valued friend and supporter of our journal, and already on our fortieth anniversary sent us his greetings on the 'remarkable achievement to have kept *Labour Monthly* alive and kicking for 40 years' and 'warm wishes for a happy Jubilee'. Most moving was his message on our fiftieth anniversary for our Golden Jubilee *Souvenir* when we knew his eyesight had failed him and we did not like to trouble him to write, but he insisted on sending us his most welcome greetings. And looking back through our volumes, his article 'Memories of Greece', written in 1966, is a joy to re-read at any time.

NEW WORLD REVIEW

Autumn 1972 Vol. 40, No. 4

Special enlarged (160-page) issue, marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, devoted to the question of the Soviet nations and nationalities

Partial Contents:

The Soviet Multinational State: Achievements and Problems —*Yadgar Nasriddinova*

Articles by Soviet Specialists on Leninist National Policy, in Theory and Practice

Talking with Americans About Soviet Jews —*Joseph Braginsky*

National Liberation, USSR: A Black American's View —*George B. Murphy, Jr.*

The Soviet Peace Policy —*E. H. S. Burhop*

Angela Davis in the Soviet Union —*Augusta Strong*

Soviet Asia: National Freedom and Women's Liberation —*William and Celia Pomeroy*

Historical Background, Census Data, Statistics on Economic and Cultural Development

Samples of poetry and lyrical writing from the various Soviet republics and national groups

Single issues $1.25 (Canadian and foreign $1.50); year subscriptions $4.00 (Canadian and foreign $5.00). Write to New World Review, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONSPIRACY AND TRESPASS

F. H. Amphlett Micklewright

THE average left-winger probably does not read law reports, with the result that changes and developments in the law take place and he does not notice the result until a case arises in which his vital interests are challenged. Such a situation may arise very soon over conspiracy and trespass. Conspiracy is the scheming by two or more persons to bring about an end, be it lawful or unlawful, by unlawful means. It is always a crime and, in criminal law, there is no need for the scheme to have achieved the end intended. Nor are its limits closed in any way. If a new situation arises, the law can be applied to it and a further step will then have been taken in the developing law of conspiracy. In 1961, the House of Lords asserted that a conspiracy to degrade and corrupt public morals is a crime, with the result that *Shaw v. DPP* marked a new step forward in the law. The conspirators were Shaw himself and his customers who purchased the *Ladies Directory*, a list of the names and addresses of prostitutes. It was obviously impossible to identify the customers but this fact did not prevent Shaw being charged with 'conspiracy with person or persons unknown'.

Despite the many notices threatening prosecution, trespass has never been regarded as a crime at common law. It is purely a civil offence and the only remedy against it lies in civil action for damage against the trespasser. Although the affronted party may call upon the police to remove a trespassing intruder, they are not justified in using more force than is necessary to attain this end. An unwarranted use of force against the trespasser could lead to civil action for assault. Thus, if a large-scale picket takes place, as was the case in the recent mining dispute, some element of trespass is always a risk. But no crime has been committed and a civil action is the only remedy that lies on behalf of the landowners. Actually, the law of trespass is weighted on the landowning side. It is possible, for example, to trespass upon a public highway. Highways are only for passing and repassing. In *Harrison v. the Duke of Rutland*, Harrison had stood upon a highway and wilfully disturbed the Duke's shooting party. He found that he was in trespass to the owner of the subsoil, in this case the Duke himself. The issue of trespass has entered into a great many working class cases, such as in questions of picketing and of public meetings. If the police suspect that there is a danger of a felony being committed or a breach of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

> In concrete terms that the people actually see, 'agricultural revolution' is the development of banana plantations for the local subsidiary of the American-owned United Fruit Company and Japanese import-export cartels; of pine-apple plantations for the American-owned Dole Corporation and Philippine Packing Corporation; of rubber plantations for the American companies of Goodrich, Firestone and Goodyear; of copper and nickel deposits for American and Japanese industries; of forest resources that supply the lumber requirements of Japanese and American industries; of copra production for the American-controlled Proctor and Gamble Philippine Manufacturing Company, Colgate-Palmolive Company, Franklin Baker, and Peter-Paul Company; of petroleum sources for American oil exploration companies; of the farm machinery market for American firms; of the poultry industry that can absorb the surplus feedgrain and related products of the American agro-industrial complex; and of the propagation of 'miracle rice' varieties specially developed to consume chemical fertilisers and pesticides manufactured by American companies.

As a neo-colony, the Philippines has always been a good milch-cow for American investment groups. However, the type of intensified exploitation demanded by an imperialism in crisis, suffering more each year from the loss of choice areas to socialism and national liberation, is seen to require some radical changes in the old colonial patterns. Semi-feudal landlords that were useful for reactionary alliances against an organised peasantry have been using their political power to sabotage reforms for bringing about capitalist agriculture. Corrupt neo-colonial politics that were useful for bribery and for backing one crooked politician against another in exchange for concessions and contracts have led to an enormously inefficient governmental administration that hampers business operations.

It could take decades to reform these conditions and to streamline the system by way of the normal power struggles of Philippine politics. The military technocratic dictatorship of President Marcos is conceived as a means of slashing through this neo-colonial undergrowth that impedes a systematic and efficient looting of the Philippine economy. This explains the 'New Society's' two-edged blade that strikes at both the popular movement on the left, to stifle the protest of the people who are to be the low-paid coolies of the foreign multinational firms, and the rival erstwhile allies of imperialism on the right, who tend to gum up the smooth machinery of profit-making.

Unfortunately for the US policy-makers, neither the rivalry of puppets over the crumbs from imperialism nor the anti-imperialist struggle of the exploited masses in the Philippines can be suppressed for long. The 'New Society' will find that it has inherited all the contradictions of the old, in more aggravated forms.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF OPERATIVE PRINTERS GRAPHICAL AND MEDIA PERSONNEL

CAXTON HOUSE, 13-16 BOROUGH ROAD, SE1 0AL

"NATSOPA"

The Executive Council of
The National Society of Operative Printers Graphical and Media Personnel
extends to All Members and Friends of NATSOPA
its Sincere Wishes for a Happy and a Successful 1973

R W Briginshaw
General Secretary

H S Lloyd
President

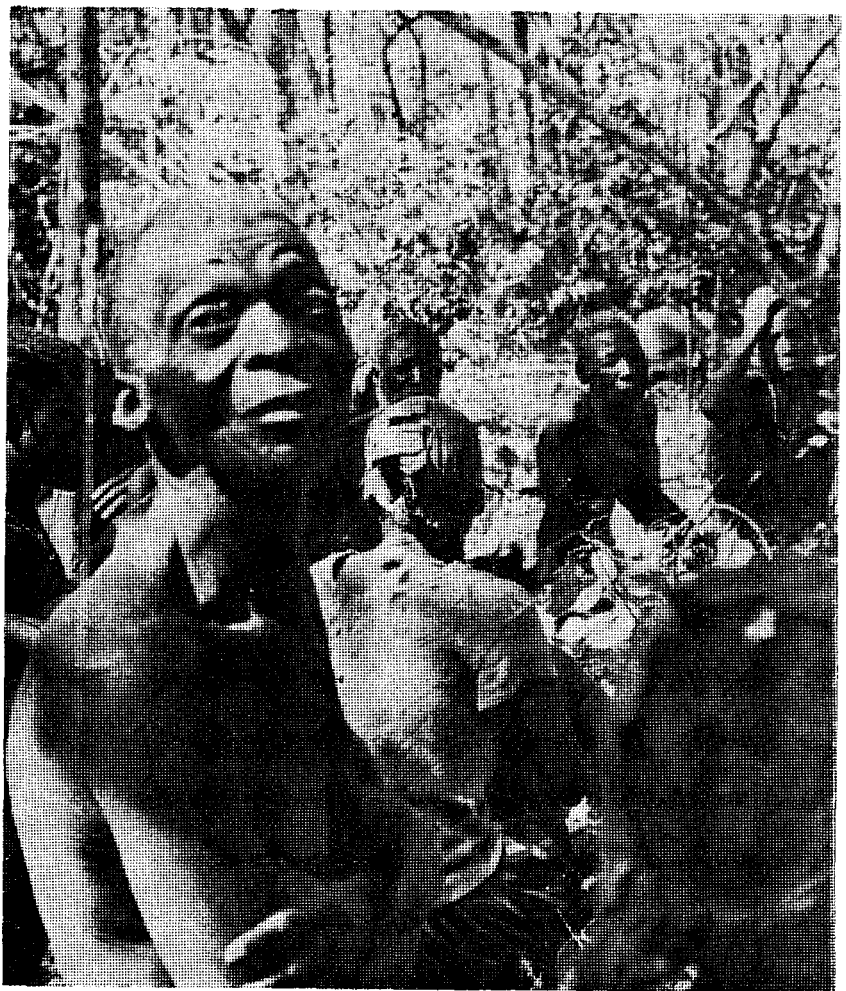
THE AMALGAMATED UNION OF ENGINEERING WORKERS
ENGINEERING SECTION

THE PRESIDENT, THE GENERAL SECRETARY
AND ALL MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
extend
NEW YEAR GREETINGS
TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE AUEW
AND ALL FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS

GENERAL OFFICE: 110 Peckham Road, London, SE15 5EL

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANGOLA!



'What shall we do? Where shall we go?'

The photographs we reproduce here were taken by Basil Davidson and are among several he uses to illustrate his book *In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People* (Longman, 356 pp., £3.95). Above are members of a small group who had just fled from Portuguese 'hunt and persecute' patrols round Muié, at a meeting with sector guerrillas whom they were asking for advice. The portrait opposite was taken in the forests of Shekului.

In his introduction Davidson explains why Angola's situation sheds light on less extreme cases. 'This is because the issues here are desperately

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PEOPLE

A woman of the national movement

plain and clear, and yet, at the same time, inherently characteristic of all other parts of the colonial or formally ex-colonial world. More than that: in one degree or other these issues may even be those, substantially, that matter today for almost every people, whether living in the "backward" countries or in those that are called "developed". What must Angola's people now do to build a good society, a society worth living in? What can they do? The questions are particular to Angola; the problems they pose are general to mankind. The study of these problems is the study of ourselves.'

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRADE UNIONS AND VIETNAM

Jack Askins
Joint Secretary
British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam

PRESIDENT NIXON'S refusal to sign the Vietnam Peace Treaty on October 31 sparked off actions and activity in Britain for US signing. The vigil outside the US Embassy gathered momentum as delay after delay began to occur; no one believed that President Thieu was the obstacle in the way of a peace settlement; the Americans alone had control of the B52 bombers. The tremendous weight of US arms and planes being rushed to Saigon were not merely sent at the request of Thieu but under the specific direction of the US administration.

The vigil which had been daily standing outside the US Embassy in Grosvenor Square protesting against the American war received a new fillip. Mia Lord was beginning to be snowed under with requests from trade unionists, peace organisations, students, women and others to participate and demand that Nixon sign now. Indeed, the vigil itself has been the biggest single contribution to the campaign in Britain that has more than anything else stimulated the trade union movement to accept its responsibilities. In fact by putting a little flesh on the resolution carried by the 1971 TUC, the General Council may seize the opportunity in the near future of participating in the vigil. Members of Parliament have not been quiescent either, and have made visits to the United States and put questions in the House; and their participation in demonstrative activities is much to be welcomed. Questions in the House have elicited useful information on the policy of HM Government.

In times gone by the peace movement, for whatever cause, has always aimed to win the trade union movement to active support, and it has been no different with the Vietnam campaign: it was not until 1971 that the Trades Union Congress came out unanimously with the demand for the total withdrawal of US forces and a warning to the British Government not to involve British troops in Indo-China. The General Council then proceeded to neglect the intent of the movers of the resolution; nevertheless, unions like the Transport and General Workers' Union, National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants, and the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers and all its constituent sections, have played a role in the campaign.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have always had to appreciate the tremendous problems that individual unions have, and it is to their credit that they have never shirked when asked to do something either in the peace campaign or for medical aid: the recent decision of the AUEW Executive Council, making a donation and calling on their members personally to contribute financially towards a gift to the people of North Vietnam, is a tribute indeed (and this with the problems that this union in particular is facing at the moment).

In the demand for Nixon to sign the accords, a growing list of national sponsors is promoting a nationwide campaign amongst all sections of the people to warn Nixon in a way that will show where the people of Britain stand. Many people have been on delegations and visits to North Vietnam, and it was arising out of the British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam trade union delegation of two years ago that the Vietnamese Federation of Trade Unions invited an official British trade union delegation over there: the Fire Brigades Union and the AUEW Engineering, Construction and Tass Section delegates participated in the response to the invitation. The reports back that they have given to their own Executives are an invaluable part of rousing trade unionists everywhere to the material requirements of the Vietnamese. The Stockholm International Committee on Vietnam has played an invaluable part in uniting the international peace movement, and at the time of writing is considering promoting an international parliamentarians' lobby of the US Senate. A ship to be loaded with medical and other supplies for North Vietnam from countries in Western Europe will be coming to British ports and will provide the basis for tremendous political activity.

The pamphlet produced by the Kent Council for Peace in Vietnam entitled *British Complicity in the Vietnam War* was an invaluable contribution to the campaign, and 5,000 have sold out very quickly. The BCPV, with all the problems of an *ad hoc* committee, an office as big as a telephone box, and Florence Croasdell and her assistant valiantly coping with the running of a national campaign, has done a remarkable job—not even a lorry driver would work the hours that Florence has worked without remuneration—demonstrations, public meetings, petitions, all have been coped with by this inadequate central administration. Obviously, stresses and strains occur from time to time, but the overriding desire to end the suffering of the Vietnamese people, to win their demands for peace with national independence, makes everything possible.

The recent return from Hanoi of Alf Lomas, Secretary of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

London Co-operative Society Political Committee, and the reporting-back meetings he has already done, not only deepens the knowledge of people of the situation in Vietnam, but such visits make for a closer alliance. Likewise, Chris Myant's brilliant and graphic reports in the *Morning Star* have done a tremendous service in bringing home to the activists in the movement how the Vietnamese people are standing up to the tremendous strains of this war of liberation. Would that the *Morning Star* were selling a million copies!

The BCPV has called on the Human Rights Commission to help in the release of all political prisoners in Saigon. It is estimated that there are over three hundred thousand prisoners. Reports from Vietnam reveal that the Saigon authorities have murdered many thousands already; it is a matter of the greatest urgency that pressure be put on the US Government and Saigon itself for the release of the prisoners. The decision of the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party to send a delegation to Hanoi and Saigon becomes an urgent one. Let there be no delay, and the Labour Party delegation going to Saigon can investigate and make representation to the Saigon Government for the safety and release of the prisoners.

Britain's responsibility will not end with the signing of the peace treaty. Implementation of the treaty has to be watched and worked for.

DEFENDS THE UNIONS

MORNING STAR

London Co-operative Society Limited

Political Committee

send
New Years Greetings
to all readers of

Labour Monthly

Jim Layzell, Chairman
Alf Lomas, Secretary

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FEDERAL GERMAN OUTLOOK

Hans Giersiepen*

FOR the mass of the electorate in the Federal German Republic the election on November 19 was a decision between Barzel and Brandt for Chancellor. Even so—it was not a 'Chancellor's election'. Millions of voters, workers, trade unionists and young voters, but also housewives and pensioners, had as their objective the prevention of the takeover of the Government by the Christian Democrats. This election aim has been achieved. The party of the most reactionary section of West German monopoly capital, three years after the reverses of 1969, has now suffered a heavy defeat.

The result of the election had a significance which went far beyond the frontiers of the Federal Republic. As an expression of the progressive European relaxation of tension, it created a new basis for the continuation of the efforts for peace and security. Even if to the electors it appeared to be a decision for either Barzel or Brandt, something else came into it. Shortly before election Sunday it all centred around one question. Shall we get a treaty with the GDR or shan't we? The majority of the population passed judgement on the continuation of a policy of relaxation of tension, on the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw, and on 'The Treaty on the Bases of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic'. Progress has won new friends. Reaction has lost ground.

What was already noticeable as a tendency during the 1969 elections, and what became quite clear during the heated public discussions around the ratification of the Eastern Treaties and came to a head with Barzel's attempt to bring down the Brandt-Scheel Government in April 1972, has been vindicated in the November elections: a new consciousness in favour of relaxation abroad and a democratic social reform policy at home has awoken in the Federal Republic.

The unequivocal election defeat of the CDU/CSU can only be understood as a result of a harsh confrontation which has been going on throughout the existence of the Federal Republic. It was the Communists in this country who, together with other democratic forces, fought for a policy of recognition of the reality of the post-

* Hans Giersiepen is a member of the Editorial Board of *Unsere Zeit* (Our Time), official organ of the West German Communist Party (DKP).

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war situation in Europe. Their fight has significantly contributed to the realisation of the necessity for a policy of relaxation and peace and to open the road to normalisation of relations between the Federal Republic and her socialist neighbours in the East.

Also noticeable in the election result is a polarisation of the mass of the workers against the representatives of big capital. The comparatively high gains of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in election districts with a high proportion of workers comes to mind. Here the active election campaign of the Communist Party (DKP) had its effect. The DKP throughout its election campaign proved itself to be the most active anti-monopoly force against the CDU/CSU. In this too can be found the reasons for the low votes for the DKP: many potential DKP voters, in view of the crystallisation of the election into the question 'Barzel or Brandt?', gave their vote to the SPD. Of course the existence of the undemocratic five per cent clause did not help the DKP.

At the same time many voters, in deciding who to vote for, succumbed to the illusion that all they had to do, to fulfil their desire for progressive foreign and home policies, was to vote for the SPD. These illusions have been exposed by the election result. To give a sober judgement, it is necessary to recognise that the mere defeat of the CDU/CSU has not brought about a change in the relation of forces in the Federal Republic. The election result has not solved any of the urgent social-political problems. Furthermore, the last three years of a social-liberal coalition in Bonn have proved that the SPD does not seriously contemplate an attack on the positions of power of monopoly capitalism. We can only conclude that the role of stabiliser of the establishment will again be played in the coming years by the SPD.

Immediately after the election, the most reactionary representatives of monopoly capital and their political advocates in Bonn, the CDU and CSU, loudly proclaimed their demands: no relaxation, no signing of the treaty with the GDR, no build-up of European security. Instead, they demand increased pressure on the mass of the people, 'stabilisation pacts' in favour of higher profits, wage guidelines as a barrier against wage demands, a taxation policy in the interest of monopoly profits. Nobody expected anything different from this quarter.

But at the same time the SPD leadership has also begun to demolish any illusions which this election result created. In the most crude fashion, not two weeks after the election, Jochen Schulz, the spokesman for the Executive Committee of the SPD, rejected the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demands of the trade unions 'for themselves and their cohorts'. Nobody has a right 'to make noisy demands on the state' which cannot be approved by the Government, he said. The Executive Committee of the Trade Union for Education and Science castigated the anti-union utterances of the SPD spokesman as 'the arrogant rantings of a square-bashing sergeant'. But let us be quite clear that this was a case of the General Staff of the SPD speaking through a sergeant.

We must now separate the chaff from the wheat. There remain the demands of millions of working people. The DGB (the West German TUC) had formulated demands for the election, in their eight 'touchstones'. Their main election demand was an unambiguous rejection of all groupings hostile to the workers. This demand cannot be swept under the carpet after the elections. The DGB's touchstones for the election must now serve as a test of the policy of the future Government. Now as before it is a fight for security of jobs, for higher wages and salaries, for the improvement of the standard of living, for a taxation policy at the expense of monopoly capital, for the reduction of the billions spent on rearmament, for the realisation of the treaties with Moscow and Warsaw, for the ratification of the treaty with the GDR and the continuation of a policy of relaxation and peace. These are the touchstones by which the new Government will be judged. Not for a moment must we forget the old experience of the working class—the millions receive only what they themselves win in hard battles.

Greetings from

ACTT

Fighting in 1973 for the nationalisation of the film industry
A public enquiry into broadcasting
And fighting against the freeze, the Common Market, unemployment and the Tory Government

General Secretary
Alan Sapper

National Union of Mineworkers

Derbyshire area

extends greetings to all trade unionists in Great Britain and throughout the world and wishes them peace and prosperity

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TASS - AUEW

Sends fraternal New Year greetings to all friends in our movement

With them, we pledge ourselves to campaign to free trade unions of legislative restriction, to defend the right to work, and defeat the wage-freeze policy of the Government

Here's hoping that 1973 will see the people creating a new Government operating policies in the interests of the working people

A SCOTT
President

G H DOUGHTY
General Secretary

Technical and Supervisory Section of the AUEW
Onslow Hall, Little Green, Richmond, Surrey

On behalf of over 30,000 musicians THE MUSICIANS' UNION sends New Year greetings to readers of *Labour Monthly*

NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS (SCOTTISH AREA)
5 Hillside Crescent
Edinburgh, EH7 5DZ

The Scottish miners send New Year greetings to all people struggling for peace and socialism

Michael McGahey, President
David Bolton, Vice-President
William McLean, General Secretary

LONDON REGION
NATIONAL GRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION

Fraternal Greetings from London's Craft Printers

W. T. Booroff, Secretary
75 Shoe Lane, E.C.4.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPRINGTIME IN CHILE

Gordon Schaffer

SPRINGTIME in Chile. I have come from a misty autumn in Britain to Santiago and I sit in the spring sunshine in a park where blooms are just beginning to show on the chestnut trees, and the magnolia and cherry blossom are in flower. A teacher and her students come to the bench to take their lesson in the sunshine, but the teacher speaks English and soon they are eagerly telling me about their country. They are in no doubt that the Government of Popular Unity has brought a springtime of hope. They understand the meaning of the measures taken by the Government to return the resources of their land to the people. They know how the great American countries have drained their wealth away. In two short years, they have enjoyed substantial improvements in educational standards and living conditions. They have no fears for the future. They only demand that the Government go faster.

I leave them to their lesson and I am joined on another bench by an elderly well-dressed man. It turns out he is a refugee from Hitler Germany. He was one of the lucky Jews to get away in 1939 and he has had a good and successful life in Chile. He says: 'Churchill was a good man.' I say: 'Yes. His finest hour was when he welcomed the alliance with the Soviet Union, which defeated Hitler.' 'No,' he replies, 'the best thing he did was at Fulton when he warned us against Russia and the Communists.' He launches into the propaganda I was to hear many times afterwards: the country is in chaos, heading for economic collapse; the trade unions are terrorising the country. This is the theme poured out by the opposition newspapers and radio stations.

You soon find out that the class war, in this poor, small country that has defied the economic power of the United States and is courageously beginning to lay the foundations of socialism, is being fought with a vicious bitterness. When you meet the workers, the students and the many technicians and cultural leaders who support this great adventure, you find plenty of evidence that, despite still desperate poverty and some privations affecting everyone, the poor are better off, the position of the lower paid workers has definitely improved and the children are being given priority. The rich and a good proportion of the middle class join in the clamour of the opposition, but the real position was put to me by a doctor in this way: 'Before the present Government took over, I knew what the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

children needed, but I did not dare tell the parents to give them milk and other essentials, because I knew they could not afford these things. Now I can tell them.'

The same thought was expressed by President Allende at a meeting to greet the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council. He told us the Government had taken the decision, despite the dangerous shortage of foreign exchange, to provide milk for the children as a first priority. 'Knowing that the future lies with the children,' he said, 'we buy the milk which we are not producing ourselves to give half a litre a day to every child in Chile. Now the price of powdered milk has increased from 580 dollars a ton to 960 dollars. That means that with extraordinary efforts to allocate 50 million dollars from our slender budget, we can only buy a percentage of what we planned.'

As the President spoke, the recollection flashed through my mind that in the West European Common Market they are paying subsidies to the farmers to slaughter their dairy cows to reduce the production of milk.

Chile has always suffered from shortages, but today everything is blamed on the Government by the opposition. Many of the shortages are due to the wage increases for the lower paid, ordered as one of the first steps by the Popular Unity Government. This increased demand for basic necessities so that, despite improvements in production, demand exceeds supply and inflation grows. But present difficulties arise much more frequently as a result of sabotage. One woman in Santiago told me how she visited a family in one of the richer houses and the housewife had a roomful of stores, including five sacks of sugar, 212 tins of instant coffee and 75 tins of milk. There is a run by the well-to-do on deep freeze cabinets, which they are filling to the brim. And while this goes on the reactionaries spread rumours through press, radio and word of mouth that particular commodities will soon vanish from the shops. People rush to buy and inevitably the shops do run out.

The right-wing has a front under the name 'Fatherland and Liberty', with a programme similar to the Nazis, including racism and anti-semitism. It carries out military training under retired officers, and possesses arms. They have carried out acts of armed provocation and have been shown a disgraceful leniency by the courts. When the Communist headquarters at Puerto Alovitt was burned down, with the deaths of several Party members, no protests came from the right-wing. When a shopkeeper arrested for black market activities died of heart failure, the right called for all shops

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to close for a day in protest. Shops which stayed open were given cards with the words: 'You have half an hour to close.' Shops which still stayed open were wrecked by gangsters.

The dangers are very real, because these forces which would stop at nothing to destroy the Government are backed by various United States agencies, which use every method short of armed intervention. They know that if one Latin American country shakes off the fetters of economic subjection, it will inspire similar demands throughout the continent. Little wonder that the struggle is bitter and that the enemies in Chile and abroad in the capitalist countries paint pictures of disaster. But they hide the other side. It was put to me by a teacher, a Communist, who has worked for a lifetime with the Chilean people at grass roots level. He said:

> The most important change is not just that our Government has defied the former economic overlords of the United States, but that it is the first Government to refuse to bow down. Our workers and peasants, apart from the activists, had the same attitude in the old days and it must be said that some fell for the way the American companies sought, by giving comparatively better conditions, to separate their employees from their fellow workers. Today, the workers stand up against the employers and the landlords. They have a new pride and dignity. That is why the resources of Chile will never be restored to the international monopolies. That is why, whatever the difficulties ahead, even if the counter-revolutionaries take to arms, the people, led by the working class, will resist and win.

The reactionaries felt the breath of this anger and determination when the Kennecott Company, one of the three US copper firms, whose property had been nationalised by completely legal processes, secured an order from a French court placing an embargo on payment for a cargo of Chilean copper. I was in Santiago at the time and watched the workers marching in their tens of thousands to a mass demonstration of protest. The Cardinal of Santiago joined in the denunciation of this act of piracy. None dared defend the Kennecott action. This incident underlines the contradictions in the present situation. The nationalisation of copper was one of the main points in Allende's election programme and it was backed by all parties. President Allende in his speech to the World Peace Council said:

> Kennecott has got a decision from a French court which blocks the payment for an important copper deal which we have made with one of our regular customers. This enterprise applied first to the Chilean courts and, when the verdict was adverse, it went to the court of a foreign country. These enterprises are claiming the mines of our country. I want to tell you that it is a generous estimate to put the investments of the foreign countries, which exploited our copper at 50 million dollars, 43 years ago. Since then, they have taken out 3,500 million dollars in profits. Profits of the multi-national com-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

panies on a world average are no more than 8 per cent. The profits of the copper companies operating in our country have been 60 to 70 per cent.

The President went on to describe how the companies were given credits for expanding production which they failed to repay out of profits so that the nationalised industry was left with a huge debt to the banks. Formerly, Chile was given short-term credits to the value of 240 million dollars. The American banks had reduced this figure to 32 million dollars. Meanwhile the price of copper had fallen, so that, while Chile produced more copper in 1971 than in 1970, its income from copper decreased by nearly 175 million dollars. This year, despite all the difficulties, they would produce more, but income would be less.

I want you to realise what this means to countries like Chile, Congo, Zambia and Peru, whose economy and finance is based on copper, when prices in the international market go down and they cannot defend themselves. The price of copper goes down. The money market is closed to us. As a result of the devaluation of the dollar, the cost of products we have to buy goes up. For the food, medicines and supplies needed by our industrial sector, we shall have to spend 100 million dollars more. This is the way the system of international trade strikes hardest at countries like ours, producers of raw materials, who dare to struggle for their economic independence. Only a great universal awareness and condemnation of these great enterprises, which are financed and supported by certain governments, will make it possible for our people to live, without the spectre of unemployment, or even worse the threat of civil war.

The President went on to tell how his Government had established relations with the GDR, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. 'We are the masters of our destiny and our sovereignty,' he declared. It was a brave speech by a man whose courage has earned the respect of all progressive men and women.

It has been explained many times that Chile is the first country to set out to build socialism through the democratic processes of a bourgeois society, with an elected parliament and most of the instruments of power still in the hands of the enemies of socialism. Allende has no alternative but to operate strictly within the legal and constitutional framework, and several decisions of the Constitutional Court are contrary to decisions taken in favour of earlier governments and are designed to curtail his authority. So-called 'freedom of the press' allows the newspapers and many of the radio stations, of which there are more than 20, to maintain a ceaseless stream of abuse and lying propaganda.

In parliament, the Government cannot count on a majority.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nationalisation of copper was an insistent demand by the whole nation and it went through parliament with support from all parties, but there was no such united support for other measures. The Government was able to use a law, passed by a brief left-wing Government in 1932, which had been left forgotten on the statute book. This gave the Government power to take over any enterprise which failed to supply the people with its goods and services. In some cases, workers went on strike to demand a takeover. Some strikes are still going on in enterprises which the Government is not yet in a position to take over. But the result has been that the main industries, copper, nitrates, textiles, coal, iron, cement, banking, foreign trade and a number of other industrial units, are firmly under state control. Land reform did not need new laws. The need was to apply existing laws which the former Frei Government had only applied half-heartedly. In many cases they divided the land, but left the peasants to carry on a primitive strip farming, whereas the need is for co-operation and use of machinery. The land problem has not yet been solved and the hostility among some of the country-side is still a danger, but progress is being made.

So, despite it all, the Chilean revolution has gone further than any similar attempt. When, as a British observer, I recall the failure of British Labour governments to make any significant inroad into the power of the capitalist owners of the economy, even though they had overwhelming majorities, I am filled with admiration at the courage of President Allende and his colleagues. His action in defying the US and declaring support for the Vietnamese patriots, when a British Labour Government supinely backed the Americans, shines like a beacon.

The authority and power of the Popular Unity Government rests four square on the working class. The trade unions and their central body, CUT, give solid support. Allende tried to give the trade unions more legal authority, but he was defeated in parliament. A new system of electing the CUT leaders by the rank-and-file members was introduced and the right-wing used every possible method to try to defeat the Communist leader, Luis Figueroa. I was told of cases where people were paid to take part in anti-Communist demonstrations and where cinema tickets were distributed for the same time as pro-Government demonstrations to get people to stay away. But Figueroa was elected.

Allende is supported by his own Socialist Party, which has acute divisions between left and right, the Communist Party which stands unitedly and firmly behind his policy; the Radicals supported

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

him at the beginning but later split. The Christian Democrats also split and the left section may become supporters. MIR, a left breakaway from the Communists, are extremely active, especially among the students who staged a ten day sit-in at the university. They demand faster action, but the danger is that they play into the hands of the right who look for an excuse to stage a counter-revolutionary coup. There are some other groups even more committed to sectarian leftism. The right has the support of 'Fatherland and Liberty', the pro-fascist front, which does not have the status of a political party but which will no doubt become increasingly active as the elections for both Congress and Senate approach in March*.

All eyes are on this election. On present evidence, the Government should gain enough support to strengthen its parliamentary position, but it has to reckon with the effects of the campaign from within and without to weaken the economic position. Paradoxically the Government extended the franchise to poorer and, in some cases, illiterate sections, and they are susceptible to the all-pervading right-wing propaganda. If the Government is clearly gaining strength in the election campaign, the opposition and its American backers may well try other methods.

But the fundamental factor was told to the World Peace Council session by Luis Figueroa, Chairman of the Chilean Federation of Industrial Workers (CUT), when he said:

> We have brought the workers into the government of the factories. We have shared with them the changes which have challenged the multi-national companies which operate and impose their demands like separate states. Nothing can be done in this country without the support of the working class and without their participation.

No one honestly examining the situation in Chile in these critical yet supremely hopeful days can doubt the seriousness of the situation. Equally it is clear that the creative genius of its people is being awakened and harnessed to a great adventure which aims at a new and better life to replace the exploitation imposed on them for generations.

Therein lies the hope of this Chilean springtime.

* Between now and March, when the elections are held, the efforts of the reactionaries to sabotage will grow fiercer. After the election, if the Government wins, more desperate measures will be used. A valuable book giving the background to the situation has just been written by Kate Clark, lecturer in English at a Chilean university (*Chile: Reality and Prospects of Popular Unity*. Lawrence & Wishart, 142 pp., £1). It documents events over the last century and gives an understanding of why the Chilean revolution is firmly grounded on the working class and why they will defend its achievement. Particularly valuable are the programmes on which the Government and Popular Unity are working.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A PERSONAL DOCUMENT

Henry Metelmann

RECENTLY my wife and I came back from a holiday to the Soviet Union. We visited Leningrad, Moscow, Kiev and the Crimea. May I describe my impressions which are perhaps of an unusual nature? They are unusual because a generation ago in 1941 I had 'visited' that country under very different circumstances. As a soldier of several of Hitler's panzer armies I had then stayed there on-and-off for several years. Led by Manstein and Paulus and Hoth and Kleist I had reached as far as Sevastopol, the foothills of the Caucasus, Stalingrad and Kursk. I had taken part in 'glorious' advances—but also in disastrous defeats which in the end had sent us reeling back whence we had come.

When entering the Soviet Union for the first time, I had been proud and arrogant and confident of our 'indisputable' ability and right to force our New Order on the *Untermenschen* from the east. But I suffered wounds and cold. And when I finally left, bleeding on the straw in a covered cattle wagon, I had learnt to respect a people whose source of great strength I still could not understand. Hitler Youth educated, I still considered it a shameful national disgrace that fellows like Marx and Engels had been Germans.

When as a preparation for our holiday I applied for a visa and had to answer the formal questions as to whether I had visited the Soviet Union before, when and where and on what business, depressing doubts arose in me as to going on that holiday after all. But there were no complications and when our silver TU 104 touched down at Leningrad airport and I stepped on to Russian soil, it was to me like a strange homecoming. The people I saw looked and were very friendly and helpful indeed. And yet—suddenly so many well-remembered and unmistakable slavic features, and the sounds of the language of Pushkin, almost forgotten, which I had mainly used for giving orders, gave me an uneasy feeling, an inexplicable cross between remorse, beaten pride, defiance and shame.

I had been under 19 at my first encounter with Russians—at which I came out on top—and impressions soaked up at that stage in life are not easily wiped away. And when I saw at the airport a group of recruits, jumping on to the back of a lorry which was sprayed the colour of earth still amazingly fresh in my memory and perhaps conscience, when I saw their crumpled jackboots, the wide-pocketed trousers, the overhanging shirt held close by the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wide leather belt with the metal lock, a connection with the blitz of dormant fear and anguish of the past played tricks with my mental equilibrium. The suddenness of it all was too much.

For it must be understood that the battles in the east had been much harder and quite different than those in the west. There had been a personal clash between the Russian and the German soldier, an intensity of feeling and no giving way. Before and after Barbarossa I had been in the west. There it had been more like a falling-out of thieves over the division of loot to be got from beating others—while with our eastern foe there was no compromise at all. Ideologically we were locked.

Hospitality of Russian people, we found, is second to none. When we surprised a Russian friend of mine whom a couple of years ago I had had the pleasure of meeting in the GDR, he and his family went out of their way to please us.

He is a university teacher and his wife a doctor. Their small flat is one of many in a big block. Their neighbours are bricklayers, an industry manager, factory workers, scientists, teachers, railwaymen: a fair cross-section of Russian society. If, because of their different professions and their different jobs, these people had a different living standard from each other, we could not detect it. Explaining to us the overall importance of the positive contribution of each to the well-being and development of all, our friends could not quite see why we were so surprised at this. Why should a doctor have privileges, why should anyone have privileges, over and above say a shoemaker, they wanted to know. . . . They had never been in a capitalist country.

Maybe in Russian homes on the whole there are not as many gadgets (not yet) as one finds in Western homes. But they surely have many more books. They have far fewer cars than we have—but a far better, and a ridiculously cheap, public transport system. They have no bingo halls but theatres and other places of culture for which, because of their numbers and quality, we have reason to envy them. And they have no unemployment: that they have abolished years ago.

Our friends had no car. But quickly they borrowed one to show us the beauty and the cleanliness of their city of which they rightly could be proud. They also took us to the huge war cemetery where more than 100,000 people had found their rest in mass graves. On the central marble monument, where an eternal flame burns, they placed some flowers in honour of those who had died for them, who had made their existence today as free people possible through their

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sacrifices. They knew of my past; they understood. They gave me part of their bouquet so that I should place it—and they apologised to me. The Russian's soul is wide, as is his vast country, and my friend had his arm round my shoulder when we walked away. 'No more war,' he said, 'no more human suffering.' And he told me that both his parents were under that huge mould.

Where his flat now is German troops had been. We passed a huge monument in the shape of a tank obstacle at the side of the road. It had been built on the line, on the spot which the invading fascist troops had reached—and from where, luckily for humanity, I feel now, they were beaten back. And yet, to me that monument spelt sadness for various reasons. It told of the horrible price the Russian people had paid, but it also reminded me of many of my friends who had battled, who had lost and who had died. It made me think of the reasons for war. Like myself, they may have been fascist soldiers, sons of workers, corrupted and brainwashed, but they nevertheless had been my friends.

Had their deaths, as connected with that of the Russians', a meaning? Or had they died in vain? With all this going through my mind, standing there with a Russian friend who himself had suffered and lost so much, Yuri said: '. . . together we will never let it happen again!'

Never having been near Leningrad or Moscow before, I could not really compare, but I had been to Kiev, and when I left that city in 1943 I left a heap of rubble, of misery, of indescribable human suffering and what seemed to me utter hopelessness. Every second citizen of that city, I was told, man, woman, child, had died during the German occupation. There can be no family who has not lost a dear one, no citizen, however young, who does not know of the deep scar.

Very sensitively I watched for it. I made no secret of my past to many a Soviet citizen. But I never detected hatred, not even an attempt to place the blame. I was shown a welcome all the time and all the way. What I noticed sometimes was a sadness, a pity for me—not for themselves—and a strange curiosity as to what had been going on in my, German soldier's, mind; whether I at that time had not even had one spark of recognition, of understanding, of doubt, as to what I was doing coming into their land, killing, destroying, burning—and for what!?

And now I saw a beautiful Kiev, ranking surely with the most pleasant cities in the world. The central parts had been rebuilt in the old style. I have never seen so many tree-lined streets in all my

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life. There were lovely parks along the stretches of the River Dnieper, theatres, places of culture and rest. And above all, we met the people, friendly, confident, educated, in no way afraid of the future while being convinced that it is themselves who hold their own future in their own hands—and that it is they, and no one else, who are going to plan and to shape it.

We found the Crimea in all her beauty, the beauty I so well remembered: the mountains, the plains, the sea, the sub-tropical climate along the coastal strip with its palm trees and other exotic plants.

In Simferopol I tumbled on the actual spot where I had stopped my panzer, where I had climbed out and stepped on to a flagstone at the entrance to a house to lean over and attend to the engine which had given me trouble. I now stood on it, on the same door step, 30 years later. It jerked my mind back, illuminating the upheaval of my past: for a moment I felt the pit of my stomach. I looked for, and it was as if I could still see, the trails churned up by the tracks of my panzer. . . .

My former enemies I had been sent to conquer? I was proud that so many of them had now offered us friendship. And I unreservedly salute them. To their everlasting merit, they have reached the watershed first.

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

It is not generally realised that the Kapp Putsch of March 1920 succeeded in its object—the overthrow of a republican government based on a coalition with the socialists—in one part of Germany, namely, in Bavaria. Ever since then an undisguised dictatorship of reaction has been in power in Munich. . . .

The second group arising out of the Orgesch is that centring round the so-called 'National Socialists'. To them have come what remains of the Organisation Consul, the Organisation Kanzler, and the Freikorps Oberland. As extreme anti-semites they have reconstituted themselves under this new name and are organising terrorist expeditions against socialist industrial centres, attacks on Jewish shopkeepers, and the plundering of banks and post trains. In fact, even the Bavarian Government has been forced to issue warrants for arrest for highway robbery against some of the leaders of this group. They represent the extreme right of the fascist movement in Germany. . . .

The headquarters of the National Socialists and others of the romantic fascisti type are at Munich. From here they dominate Bavaria south of the Danube. Through the secretary to the police prefect in Munich, Herr Glaser, one of their nominees, they control the secret service and apparatus of justice in this part of Germany.

(From 'Bavaria and the German Fascisti', by M. Philips Price, *Labour Monthly*, January 1923)

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MUNICH DRAMA (4)

I. M. Maisky

(Academician Maisky deals with the role of the British and French ruling class during the critical summer of 1938, in this fourth instalment —Ed. *LM)*

ONE might imagine that the events of May 19-23, 1938, would have demonstrated quite clearly to the Western powers the significance of collective security in the struggle against fascist aggression. After the experience of May one would think they should have declared firmly to Hitler: So far and no farther! Or better still, that they should have taken the hand extended to them by the USSR and by joint efforts of the three powers put Hitler Germany in its place. If in May Hitler was forced back simply by the unco-ordinated diplomatic *démarches* of Britain, France and the USSR, then faced with three united great powers (and the prospect of the eventual use of non-diplomatic means) he would, of course, not have risked pushing ahead. To achieve this, however, Britain would have had to engage in joint activity with the USSR and, because of the anti-Soviet interests of British ruling circles, whose spokesman he was, Chamberlain could not take such a step.

What was France's position? Daladier, the French Premier, was like a reed painted in simulation of steel. Faced with any complications or dangers he usually began with high notes and threatening gestures, but very soon ran out of breath and gradually slid down into a cowardly minor key. Bonnet, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was an out-and-out reactionary and political adventurer. Admiral Darlan, who commanded the French Navy, was a narrow-minded chauvinist and clung to an extreme right-wing political orientation. General Weygand, one of the biggest military figures in France of the day, was spiritually bankrupt. In his war memoirs Churchill wrote of him: 'He had a profound, lifelong dislike of the parliamentary regime of the Third Republic. As an ardently religious Catholic, he saw in the ruin which had overwhelmed his country [the military catastrophe of 1940—I.M.] the chastisement of God for its abandonment of the Christian faith.'

The mood of those circles of the French bourgeoisie known as the Two Hundred Families is best characterised by their slogan: 'Better Hitler than the Popular Front.' France in 1938 was a second-rate great power and in the main followed in Britain's wake. The

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Third Republic was in a condition of demoralisation. I have the following entry in my diary, made on September 16, 1938, in Geneva, where I had gone for the meeting of the League of Nations Assembly:

> Maxim Litvinov spoke of his meetings. . . . The talk with Herriot was of a directly tragic character. The most interesting and most vital thing in it was Herriot's frank admission that France was now no longer in a position to play the role of a really great power: its population was falling, its finances were in complete disorder, the internal struggle was sharpened to an extreme, its air force was run down, its links with central and eastern Europe had been undermined and were primarily of a nominal order.

The mood of British ruling circles and the situation in France after the May crisis were, of course, well known to Hitler. What conclusion could he draw? Only one: that he should continue his blackmail, not losing any time. So a most shameful comedy was played out before the eyes of Europe during two summer months of 1938. Negotiations were in progress in Prague between the Czechoslovak Government and Henlein on the settlement of the 'Sudeten question'. Chamberlain and Daladier demanded of Eduard Benes, the Czechoslovak President: 'Give in, give in to Henlein, as much as you possibly can!' At the same time Hitler was instructing Henlein: 'On no account agree to a compromise! Demand more and more!' At the negotiating table various 'plans' for a settlement appeared from time to time. The first plan . . . the second . . . the third. . . . Although under these plans the Sudetenland would have become something in the nature of a state within a state, Henlein continued to be increasingly dissatisfied, for it was necessary to Hitler to keep the 'Sudeten question' going for the time being as an apple of discord between Germany and Czechoslovakia. Henlein began to demand that Prague repudiate the mutual aid pacts with the USSR and France. . . .

Towards mid-July Hitler began to shout that 'his patience was becoming exhausted' and that if the 'Sudeten question' was not settled with the utmost urgency he would take 'direct action'. On July 18, Hauptmann Wiedemann, Hitler's personal aide, arrived in London and began to whisper in the ears of the Cliveden set (beginning with Chamberlain himself) that the Führer was beside himself and that any further procrastination over the settlement of the 'Sudeten question' could have catastrophic consequences.

The British Premier panicked and was then struck by a bright idea: to resolve the argument by arbitration. He found a suitable man for the job, Lord Runciman. This was entirely the product of Chamberlain's initiative. That, however, did not prevent him from

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

declaring on July 26 in the House of Commons that Runciman was being sent to Prague in response to a request from the Czechoslovak Government—although such a request had never been made.

I had made Runciman's acquaintance during the Anglo-Soviet trade talks in 1932-34 when he was President of the Board of Trade. He was a big shipowner and a Liberal from Sir John Simon's reactionary group. He suffered from deafness and was slow to grasp things. Runciman did not like work. During the trade talks, which lasted 14 months, I saw him only twice: on the day the talks opened and on the day the agreement was signed. Everything else done on behalf of the British was carried out by others. Now such a man, and one approaching 70 at that, was supposed to act as arbiter in an exceptionally complex and difficult argument! Shortly before his departure for Prague I met him at a diplomatic dinner and was amazed to find that he did not even know the geographical position of Czechoslovakia. Of course, Runciman was accompanied by various secretaries and advisers, but not one with a good knowledge of Czechoslovakia or with experience in settling questions linked with the position of national minorities. But Chamberlain was not in the least bit worried: after all, he had decided in advance that the fate of Czechoslovakia was of secondary importance and that the main thing was peace and friendship with Hitler.

Chamberlain was in such a hurry to get the Runciman mission set up that he did not even have time to agree everything with Daladier. This aroused dissatisfaction among the French, and objections to the British plan. Paris was particularly displeased at Runciman's investment with the powers of 'arbiter'. Chamberlain had to make a concession and Runciman went to Czechoslovakia with the title 'adviser and intermediary' between Prague and the Sudetens (that is, in fact, Berlin). It was a very odd title, but no odder than the whole cowardly, treacherous venture of the British Prime Minister.

PASS IT ON . . .

When you've finished reading this copy of Labour Monthly, why not pass it on to a friend or workmate?

You might gain us a new reader—especially if you point out the generous post free subscription rates printed inside the back cover.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tribune

the leading socialist weekly

sends fraternal greetings to all socialists and trade unionists throughout the world.
For socialism, peace and freedom.

TRIBUNE
24 St. John Street
London, E.C.1

Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers

(Constructional Section)

Sends fraternal New Year greetings to workers everywhere

For working class solidarity and unity

For the European Security Conference

For continuing left advance in the British labour movement

G. GARBETT, President
E. MARSDEN, General Secretary

THE AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF BOILERMAKERS SHIPWRIGHTS BLACKSMITHS AND STRUCTURAL WORKERS

The Executive Council on behalf of its members sends New Year greetings and a wish that 1973 will see peace in Vietnam and Northern Ireland

Daniel McGarvey
President

Collet's

LONDON BOOKSHOP

sends New Year greetings to Labour Monthly and its readers

Write for new lists on the following subjects:

1 History, postwar Europe, international affairs, politics, government, USSR, etc.
2 Sociology, social problems, education, economics, philosophy, etc.
3 Race relations, Middle and Far East, Africa, the Americas.
4 Biographies, biographical studies, miscellaneous subjects.

64-66 Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2.

Open daily including Saturdays 9.30—6

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK REVIEWS:

Participation and Democratic Theory
Carole Pateman
Cambridge University Press, 122 pp., £1.50

THE 1945 Labour election manifesto, *Let us Face the Future*, declared: 'The Labour Party is a socialist party, and proud of it.' The 1972 *Labour's Programme for Britain* opens with these words: 'We are a democratic socialist party, and proud of it.' Twenty-seven years of progress. Lenin commented that 'it is impossible to compel the greater part of society to work systematically for the other part of society without a permanent apparatus of coercion,' and it is a tribute to the wiliness of the British ruling class that it has been able so effectively to sell its own 'permanent apparatus of coercion' (basically the parliamentary and cabinet system, the courts, police and army) as 'democracy'. So much so that democratic rights won by the working class are sometimes confused with the total system of British capitalist 'democracy', and some who fight every individual oppressive facet of the system still proclaim allegiance to 'democracy' as a whole.

Carole Pateman's book is by way of being a warning to the powers-that-be that recent élitist theories of democracy (limiting mass political participation pretty well to voting in elections) could cause a cleavage between an increasingly active and involved public and the 'democratic' body politic. 'We can still have a modern, viable form of democracy,' she asserts, 'which retains the notion of participation at heart.' Those who have an interest in saving the current British system—rather than fighting for increased democratic rights as a stage towards attaining a socialist democracy—will perhaps be obliged to her.

She declares in a footnote that 'little mention has been made of the question of ownership of industry under a participatory system, as this would have taken us too far from our main theme.' Precisely, But the main 'theme' for the working class is the ownership and hence the control of industry. ALAN BROWN

The Life of Ernest Shatalov
Vladimir Amlinsky
Steal a March on Death
Vladislav Titov
Progress Publishers (Central Books), 210 pp., 30p

HERE ARE TWO STORIES about two young people, both permanently crippled, one by illness, the other by a terrible accident, and how they overcome their despair, helped by others, and make something good and valuable of their lives. Both are written with the compassion of Chekhov except that—unlike most of Chekhov's characters—theirs are success stories. O.C.

New Year's Greetings

The South Wales Miners and their Families

greet all in the labour movement seeking to replace the Tories by a Labour Government pledged to build a socialist Britain

President
GLYN WILLIAMS
Vice-President
EMLYN WILLIAMS
General Secretary
DAVID FRANCIS

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREEZE COSTS RALLY

One of our contributors during the month of November made a gift to the Fund according to a calculation whose unusual nature was more than matched by his generosity: his gift of £36.03 will be found in the figures below, and his calculation was based on the Fund total published in our November issue (£63.97) which was short of our £100 target by the amount he sent us. This has given us our present figure just clear of the £100, and helps us at what is a very difficult time for us financially, owing to the freeze.

Other help has started to reach us as a result of the explanation of our position last month: subscribers who can afford it are sending extra donations with their subscription renewals, and some are simply sending £3 'for renewal', i.e. the annual subscription we had earlier been counting on before the freeze was announced.

We hope our regular readers whose copies are purchased through bookshops, or by subscription through an agent, will remember the difficulty we face and try to put aside the extra 5p a month to add to existing Fund donations, as this is the only way we can now hope to avoid a continuing loss on each copy we sell.

Our appeal must be made especially to readers in the trade union movement, who, while under heavy attack from this wage-freezing Government, can continue the work begun during 1972 to win new readers for the journal. Our present loss can then become a long-term gain.

Nicola Seyd

£107.99

REGULAR DONATIONS came from: 'Oliver Twist' 50p, S Morrissy 50p, H Brindle 25p, D Belensen £1, M Morgan 25p, Marie Philibert 85p, 'Patrick' 50p, Ben Ainley £1, Len Potter £2, J Rink 25p, Les Bates 25p, Mr and Mrs Guinan 25p, Blackburn Branch 15p, Oldham Branch 10p, R Strudwick £1, Mr and Mrs Kokos 25p, J Purton 37p, R Paul £1.10, Miss E Dymock 15p, A Corbett £1, P W Ladkin 50p, C T M 50p, Len and Stella Perkins 25p, 'Pax' 40p, L'Humanité 30p, 'S Mill' £2, Southend Branch £1, B and K R (USA) £2.72, W Laithwaite £5, J Tarver £2, 'Socialist Sailor' £2, J D (Canada) £1.58, A M T (for Fernando and Guilherme) 5p.

OTHER DONATIONS include: A Hanrahan £7.60, F H Walker £2, H Smith £1.86, H S £10, J J C Hinton £1.60, H Metelmann 10p, Mrs P Camp 60p, J Laing 30p, S M Hadfield (plus Co-op stamps) £2.80, M Kerrigan 60p, E M Karley 30p, G Schaffer 10p, V Clancy £2.14, E Dunham 60p, J Mowat 10p, N Marcus (to complete November's total) £36.03, G Cunelli 80p, H Quinton £1.60, W R Stevenson £4.60, R H P (Canada) £3, A Shields £3.14, R A M (USA) £1, H Ludford 50p.

Our thanks to you all. 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD (01-346 5135)

Bankers' orders to: National Westminster Bank Ltd., Finchley Central Branch A/c No. 37564338, Code No. 60-08-20.

Published by Unity Publications (Finchley) Ltd., and printed by London Caledonian Press Ltd. (T.U.), Watford, Herts.—55187

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POST FREE SUBSCRIPTION OFFER

for Labour Monthly, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD

Home and Overseas (unsealed) 1 year £2.40
6 months £1.20

USA
1 year $7.00
(sealed $10.00)
6 months $3.50

Canada
1 year $7.50
(sealed $8.50)
6 months $3.75

Air Mail rates quoted on application

Please start my subscription from the ..... issue

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Special Student's Concession

1 year £2.20
6 months £1.10

I am a bona fide student at

.....

Please start my subscription from the ..... issue

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

Please make cheques, etc. payable to Unity Publications (Finchley) Ltd.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Chile: Reality and Prospects of Popular Unity, Kate Clark. Lawrence & Wishart, 142 pp., £1.

The New Militants: Crisis in the Trade Unions, Paul Ferris. Penguin, 112 pp., 25p.

Portuguese Africa and the West, William Minter. Penguin, 176 pp., 40p.

Trotsky, Francis Wyndham and David King. Penguin, 204 pp., £1.50.

The War Hitler Won, Nicholas Bethell. Allen Lane, 472 pp., £4.

Leninism and Contemporary Problems of the Transition from Capitalism to Socialism, Konstantin Zarodov. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 356 pp., £1.

The Lancashire and Cheshire Miners, Raymond Challinor. Frank Graham, 320 pp., £3.75.

Do Trade Unions Cause Inflation?, Dudley Jackson, H. A. Turner and Frank Wilkinson. Cambridge University Press, 128 pp., £1.20.

The Socialist Register 1972, edited by Ralph Miliband and John Saville. Merlin, 306 pp., £120.

The Management of Government, John Garrett. Penguin, 304 pp., 60p.

Between Class and Elite, Zygmunt Bauman. Manchester University Press, 334 pp., £4.80.

Fidel in Chile, Fidel Castro. International Publishers (Central Books), 234 pp., £1.05.

Not Much Time for the Third World, Erhard Eppler. Wolff, 144 pp., £1.

Gustav Heinemann—The Committed President, Joachim Braun. Wolff, 278 pp., £4.

In the Eye of the Storm: Angola's People, Basil Davidson. Longman, 356 pp., £3.95.

Transport Engineering Economics, Ian G. Heggie. McGraw Hill, 266 pp., £6.25.

The Penguin Guide to Supplementary Benefits, Tony Lynes. Penguin, 234 pp., 40p.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE 'FAIR RENT' ACT

A Guide for Council Tenants

Details, arguments which both tenants and councillors can use in preparing their cases to challenge the expected level of 'fair rents'

3p (5½p post free)

40 for £1

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
78 Blackfriars Road
London, SE1 8HF

For all interested in the fight for Peace and Progress in the Countryside and the problems of Socialist agriculture

THE COUNTRY STANDARD

Quarterly 5p

Annual subscription 32p post free or send 2½p stamp for specimen copy

THE COUNTRY STANDARD
27 Bedford St., Strand, London, W.C.2.

MIMETTE FURS LTD

Wide range of furs, coats, stoles and capes

117 High Street, Croydon, Surrey
'Phone 01-688 4328

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

(25p a line, minimum 90p. Cash with order to: Unity Publications (Finchley) Ltd, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N3 2PD.)

WANTED—secondhand books on Marxism, socialism, labour history, race relations, women's liberation. Collet's London Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Rd., London W.C.2. Tel: 01-836 6306.

SOCIALIST LIBRARIES & pamphlets bought. 01-876 7254. Hammersmith Books, Liffords Pl., S.W.13.

NOW PLACE YOUR ORDER FOR THE NEW

Labour Monthly 1972 Bound Volume

AT THE OLD PRICE
£2.90 post free

or—special offer to readers—send £1.90 and your loose copies to:

UNITY PUBLICATIONS (FINCHLEY) LIMITED
134 BALLARDS LANE, LONDON, N3 2PD

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED